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Roads to Peace in 1951

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

DOROTHY THOMPSON

WILLIAM C. FOSTER

CARLOS P. ROMULO



THE LISTENER TALKS BACK

on

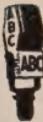
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Roads to Peace in 1951

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THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

DOROTHY THOMPSON—Author, columnist and radio commentator. Following her graduation from Syracuse University, Miss Thompson spent several years doing social work and then went to Europe. She worked eight years in Vienna and Berlin for the Curtiss newspapers, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and the *New York Evening Post*. When she took over the important Berlin office of the *Evening Post*, she was the first woman ever to hold such a position for the American press. After her resignation in 1928, she spent the next several years as a reporter, earning her reputation as a leading interpreter of the news. Her column, "On the Record," is distributed three times weekly by the Bell Syndicate to some one hundred and sixty papers. Among her books are *I Saw Hitler*, *The New Russia*, *Refugees: Anarchy or Organization*, and *Let the Record Speak*.

WILLIAM CHAPMAN FOSTER—Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration, and former Under Secretary of Commerce. In 1922, Mr. Foster became affiliated with the Pressed and Welded Steel Products Co., Inc. and became its President in 1946. During World War II, he was a member and chairman of the Purchase Policy Advisory Committee of the War Department and, in 1944 he was appointed to the Purchases Division, Army Service Forces, Washington, D.C., later becoming its Director as well as Special Representative of the Under Secretary of War on Procurement for the Army Air Forces. Mr. Foster has also served as a trustee of the Committee for Economic Development. For his outstanding service during World War II, he was awarded the U.S. Medal of Merit and the War Department Commendation for Exceptional Civilian Service. Mr. Foster has just returned from an inspection tour of Western Europe where he received first-hand reports on conditions in the Marshall Plan area.

GENERAL CARLOS P. ROMULO—Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Republic of the Philippines and Head of Philippine Delegation to the UN General Assembly. General Romulo served as General MacArthur's aide-de-camp at Bataan, Corregidor and Australia, rising from Major to Brigadier General in the U.S. Army. General Romulo headed the Philippine Delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945 and was elected President of the Fourth Regular Session of the General Assembly in September, 1949. He signed the Bretton Woods Agreement for the Philippines in 1945 and was the Philippine Delegate to UNRRA Conference in March 1946. In 1942, General Romulo won the Pulitzer Prize in Journalism for a series of articles about the Far East.

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Roads to Peace in 1951

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. We are very happy to be the guests this evening of the Rochester Institute of International Affairs. This impressive organization, sponsored by five outstanding civic institutions, symbolizes the Town Hall ideal in this city of nearly half a million people.

Rochester is known throughout the country as a great industrial center for the manufacture of optical instruments, men's clothing and photographic equipment.

Here in this beautiful Eastman Theater we're about to discuss a question of tremendous concern to every human being—especially those who are facing death every hour in Korea. As we try to find the right roads to peace tonight it's well for us to remember that the shooting war against aggression has already started and colossal expenditures in terms of money and disrupted lives have already been undertaken in preparation for World War III.

We charge our honored guests and every listener within reach of our voices with the gravest responsibility for finding answers that will put our feet on the road to a just and honorable peace. We know that we can have peace tomorrow on the aggressor's terms, but since we are determined not

to follow that road, what road is open to us? Should we drop atomic bombs on our obvious enemy and live done with it? Surely experience has taught us that this is no road to peace. Can we hide securely behind our national boundaries and let the rest of the world take care of itself? We appear to have abandoned this road as much as

some of us would prefer it to any other. Mankind has never in all history faced such a difficult and complex problem. While there is still time, then, let us reason together, in hope and prayer, that we may find a right road to peace in 1951.

We'll hear first from one of America's ablest journalists who has devoted her life to the study of world affairs, particularly on the European continent, and whose syndicated column is read throughout this country. We are happy to welcome back to our Town Hall platform Miss Dorothy Thompson.

Miss Thompson:

Mr. Denny and fellow Americans. There's no blueprint for perpetual peace, because no blueprint can ever contain the wisdom and passions and follies of the human mind. But the road on which we are embarking is not, I fear, the road to peace, but, more likely, the road to war. That policy is to attain peace by deterring—deterring the Soviet Union, Communism, and all possible aggressors wherever they may be—by the threat of overwhelming military force. For this we are creating an army of three and a half million men, putting the American economy on a war footing, and, in fact, turning the nation into a gigantic war machine. For this we plan to garrison American troops in Europe and prepare to send them anywhere else that the President may think their presence will deter, and if not, punish. For this we are pepping up the European nations to divert their money, manpower, and production to armies and arms. And this we are doing, not for real war, but for a hypothetical war.

Such a condition, as I see it, cannot endure ad infinitum. No free nation can remain on a war footing forever. The price would be a permanent garrison state. Therefore, one of two things, as I see it, must happen. Either there will be a popular revolt to dissolve the whole policy—and open the way to chaos and possibly to communism—or we must, sooner or later, try to bring on war and thus give a purpose and a foreseeable end to the mobilization—if there could be any end to such a war. And there are other means of bringing on war beside direct aggression.

The people of this country are being sold a semi-garrison state of unlimited duration in the name of Peace. The creators of this policy are doubtless sincere. But all human experience proves them wrong.

Only one argument could be logically advanced for this mobilization, namely, that we are building strength to support a peace settlement. But what settlement? Can General Romulo, or Mr. Foster, or anybody tell us? Nothing has been projected beyond deter or stop. The American people are thus again being asked to commit everything they have to an undefined objective. But the reason we have no peace is because we have already done that once.

The way to seek peace is to seek solutions, not universal solutions, but solutions for those issues, in those places, where tensions are most acute. A general war does not break out all over the place. It begins in a certain place, over a certain issue. In Europe the greatest danger spot is in a divided Germany. But the United States has never put forth one single proposal regarding Germany which

could conceivably be acceptable to any Russian government, Soviet or otherwise.

I have been asked whether I believe Germany can be integrated into a united Europe. If that means into a European system, military system, hostile to Russia, I should say to attempt to do it would most likely cause war. But until our government reveals what safe and reasonable settlement we are aiming for, until it suggests, for instance, how we might remove united Germany as a bone of contention, I think we should not give it any war powers because a government that has decided that no peace settlement is possible is a government that has settled for war.

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dorothy Thompson. Our next speaker, Mr. William C. Foster, is Paul Hoffman's successor as Administrator of Economic Cooperation Administration, who has just returned from an inspection tour of Western Europe, where he made firsthand inspections of conditions in the Marshall Plan area and this is his first statement to the American people since his return. Mr. Foster left a successful business to serve the government during World War II where he was first a member and chairman of the Purchase Policy Advisor Committee of the War Department and the Director of the Purchase Division of the Army Service Forces. Following other government service, he became Under Secretary of Commerce until he joined ECA and assumed his present post as Administrator last year. We are also happy to welcome to Town Meeting, Mr. William C. Foster.

Mr. Foster:

Mr. Denny, friends of Town

Meeting, I have just returned from France, Italy and Western Germany. There I found people asking, as they do here, "Is war inevitable?" I don't feel that it is. Unlike Miss Thompson, I believe our present policy of building strength in the free world will preserve peace. War creates problems more difficult to solve than those out of which war grew. Therefore, knowing that war is not a solution we should use our intelligence to explore other roads.

There are a number of such roads. Any discouragement with the uneasiness of the present peace should be tempered with gratitude that there are these other roads. Probably General Romulo will lay stress on the actions of the United Nations. His dedicated service to that body is known to all.

But my particular responsibility is with the economic road. It is my conviction that economic progress and adjustments can lubricate many of the frictions that cause war. I believe that the Marshall Plan, by helping to accelerate the recovery of Western Europe, has not only brought a better, more hopeful life to 270 million people, but has also kept them free of the Kremlin's domination. It has thus provided internal security. The Marshall Plan, in assisting the development of new agricultural resources, of vast new power projects, steel mills, and other industrial facilities, can also help to build security against forces from without.

The question was asked, "What are the Europeans doing to match our aid under the Atlantic Pact?" The answer is "a great deal." Some people question Europe's will to survive. But Europe has given her reply to that in the way she has

worked to recover. Europe is now producing industrial goods at a rate more than 40 per cent above pre-war levels. Agriculture has also shown a notable improvement. Thus far Europeans have matched us in degree of rearmament. Despite their lower per capita income they are devoting about the same part of their national income to arms as we are. France and England have about the same ratio of troops per thousand of population as we have.

Of course we are stepping up our efforts and the question is whether our European allies will keep pace. General Eisenhower has expressed the opinion that they will. I agree.

There is one point that requires hammering home. The countries of Western Europe were grievously wounded by the war. They are just now recovering. If they are to add the burdens of a full scale re-armament to their present economies they are going to need our help. Only from North America can they obtain the foods, raw materials and machines they require if they are to sustain this new burden. But a relatively small amount of aid from us will be multiplied by the Europeans into a mighty addition to the free world strength.

Remember, it is the Europeans and the Asians who will do the biggest part of the job, not ourselves. Every dime we invest brings about fifty cents worth of investment and effort on the part of those we help. This road building is economically sound and, I believe, a sure highway to peace.

Moderator Denny:

Thank you very much, Mr. Foster. Our next speaker is among

the most versatile of men and is widely known and admired here in the city of Rochester. He served as Gen. MacArthur's Aide-de-camp on Bataan, Corregidor and in Australia. He headed the Philippine delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, and was elected President of the fourth regular session of the General Assembly in September, 1949. He is now Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines and head of the Philippine delegation to the United Nations Assembly. In his spare time he has written four books, and has just finished his fifth, a novel to be called *The United* which is to be published in June.

Well, General, which road to peace do you advocate? We are happy to welcome you to our platform.

Gen. Romulo:

Mr. Denny and friends. Miss Thompson believes that it is all right to build up strength for peace provided there is a definite peace program to aim at. She claims there is no such peace program.

I cannot speak of the peace program of the United States but I think I can speak of the peace program of the United Nations. That peace program consists in an attempt to remove the socio-economic causes of war and to settle disputes by peaceful means. In the meantime, the United Nations must build up sufficient strength to discourage or repel aggression as it is now doing in Korea. Don't you agree, Miss Thompson, that this is a reasonable way of meeting the problem of war at the present time?

Mr. Foster gives credit to the Marshall Plan for having provided

the foundation on which the security of Western Europe against aggression has been built. He calls it the economic road. Most thinking people will agree with Mr. Foster. Do you think, Mr. Foster, that a similar effort in Asia would be equally effective?

May I add to Mr. Foster's economic road two more roads—the ancient road of the balance of power and the new road of the United Nations. At the moment we are trying to follow both roads. On the one hand, we are using the United Nations as an instrument for the pacific settlement of disputes, as a weapon for repelling aggression, as a tool for removing the causes of war, and as a forum for organizing world opinion in support of these objectives. On the other hand, we have also resorted to the older method of maintaining peace through an equilibrium between the great world power blocs.

This we have done through a loophole in the Charter of the United Nations—and this answers the question asked at the beginning of this forum, "How can the United Nations wage war against one of its permanent members without destroying the United Nations?"—a loophole which maintains "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, and which recognizes "the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security" as are appropriate for regional action. Though these provisions were a concession to existing treaties of regional defense, it was intended in San Francisco that such alliances

would be utilized only for enforcement action by and within the framework of the United Nations.

The expansionist ambitions of the Soviet Union have negated this original purpose. In repelling the Soviet-inspired and Soviet-supported act of aggression in Korea, the United Nations has been compelled to abandon, for a while, its primary method of pacific settlement and to call into play its, as yet undeveloped, resources for enforcement action to restore peace. Fortunately, these resources are being rapidly developed.

Our hopes for peace must rest for the time being upon the capacity of the United Nations to develop sufficient power to discourage aggression anywhere in the world. Once this is achieved, the United Nations can revert to its primary function of maintaining peace through adjustment, compromise and accommodation. And this, Miss Thompson, is the United Nations' way.

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, General Carlos P. Romulo. Now gentlemen you and Miss Thompson would probably like to have a discussion up here around the microphone before we take the questions from this splendid Rochester audience. Miss Thompson?

Miss Thompson: Well, I would like to comment on something General Romulo said and ask a question. You see, General, I think we are having war in Korea, not peace. Although we live in a very strange world—very strange semantics, where we manage to call war peace, and peace war, one of the things that makes things very confusing—I think we are having war in Korea, not peace, and I

think that this war was essentially caused by the intolerable division of the country into two parts, with one great power backing one part and another great power backing the other.

Now, precisely that situation and in an even more exaggerated form exists in Germany today and is the chief danger to peace in Europe. I would like to ask—how would you, General Romulo, or the United Nations propose to change that situation short of war?

Gen. Romulo: Miss Thompson, the United Nations Charter as we signed it in San Francisco is not foolproof. It has its shortcomings and its defects but it is an evolving and developing constitution. The fifth session of the General Assembly has just shown that that constitution, that charter, can develop. We showed it when we approved the Acheson Plan which enables the General Assembly to act when the Security Council is paralyzed. Now you mention the case of Korea where you say there is war and not peace. Precisely, in Korea what the United Nations is trying to do is to prevent the extension of that war by showing that aggression does not succeed. And that is the function of the United Nations, now—to repel aggression in order that we may not have a world war.

Mr. Foster: I'd like to ask Miss Thompson whether the semi-garrison state and the all-out war is really what she means. It seemed to me that three and half million people, which is our objective in a military sense, is not the all-out mobilization as we understood it in the last war. I think, therefore, the loads that you are predicting and the ultimate end, which you have also predicted, may not be

quite as imminent as you said. In fact, I think we can stand this for a long time, as long as we can continue to build strength against aggression within and without.

Miss Thompson: Mr. Foster, I don't want to exaggerate anything but an army of three and a half million is a gigantic army and that's an army of three and a half million new trainees with fourteen million already trained veterans in reserve. Now the moment one begins building that kind of an army there is an immediate result. That is to say, that your opponent immediately tries to build up and overtop your strength.

I don't know what the Russian Army may be but, whatever it is, they will certainly try, as opponents, to overtop that strength and that is an armaments race. In the whole of human history every armaments race so far has ended in war. And furthermore, when armaments races of that kind start, the opponent will always strike at the time when he considers it to be to his greatest advantage. I see no reason to think that the Russians, who obviously fear—and, I think, with some reason—the building up of an immense armed force in Europe on a close frontier, I see no reason to think, that they're going to give us three or four years to build to this peak. I don't know. Now I am not against strength, mind you, but I want to know what they intend to do with that strength and I asked very specific questions. What do you intend to propose about Germany? That's a very reasonable question. And so far not one single person has made any kind of a statement, that, as I say, any Russian government could possibly accept.

Mr. Foster: My business is economic recovery, Miss Thompson.

I think that if we can help Western Germany to recover economically if we can integrate Western Germany economically into Western Europe, we can find a place for that part of it. If, politically, we can work out a unification I would be very happy. That is a political negotiation which I have no part in, but I do know the improvements in Germany, I do know their leaning in Western Germany toward the West, I do believe that with that strength we can build strength and I will tell you my opinion of the three and a half million people — a defensive strength strong enough so that we will not be attacked.

Gen. Romulo: It is not for the Philippines to make a proposal of Germany for the United States.

Miss Thompson: Why not?

Gen. Romulo: And it is not my province, Miss Thompson, to defend the foreign policy of the United States. But don't you think that the real problem before America is not whether it is wise or unwise to build up sufficient military strength but whether the United States is doing enough to meet the danger of war by other than military means?

Miss Thompson: Well, I might say that it is not the business of Miss Thompson to suggest a foreign policy, but I've been doing it for the last twenty years and no one has paid the slightest attention to me and that's one reason we're where we are.

Now I think there is a conceivable solution for the German problem and that it lies just in the way we are doing it. I don't think it has anything to do, Mr. Foster, with economics as such. The fact is that this is a divided country and the fact is that both the West and the East are terrific

est this country, with its great potentialities, should become part of the military system of one or the other. The West can't endure that the Soviets should get it and the Soviets can't endure that the West should get it. Now if you—and with very good reason on both sides—now if you pose the question there, the answer seems to be explicit, neither of them must get it and Germany must be made a neutral island of peace. That means Germany may have a military establishment of its own, but only like the Swiss, to protect its own neutrality. It must not be allowed to make any military alliances, norduct its soldiers into any army, nor allow any military bases on its soil. It must only be able to protect its own neutrality.

If that doesn't satisfy the Russians—which is the proposition I could make to them—if that doesn't satisfy the Russians, I'd offer them a pact of aid in case of any future attack upon them from Germany. And if that doesn't satisfy them, I'd know they didn't want peace. But until you make a proposition which is fair to everybody, which protects both the Soviet Union, the Atlantic Community, and Germany, you are not

making a political proposition at all. You're just talking.

Gen. Romulo: My question is for Mr. Foster. Would you say, Mr. Foster, that some sort of a Marshall Plan in Asia would be equally effective in providing a foundation for Asian security against aggression?

Mr. Foster: General Romulo, the conditions are somewhat different. As you know, we are already operating in Southeast Asia and the Far East. We have six missions out there. Western Europe is an industrial area, the Far East is largely an agricultural area. They do not need the commodities they needed in Western Europe. They do need a great deal of technical assistance. With comparatively few dollars from the United States I believe we can make a great contribution to building strength, at least against internal aggression—strength which will give the people hope, which will give them better living conditions, more food and a great improvement in their life as it now exists.

Mr. Denny: Thank you very much, Mr. Foster. Now we are going to take some questions from the audience.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Man: Miss Thompson, do you feel that in a time of such world crisis we should just wait, without any preparation for defense, until a clear objective is defined for this nation?

Miss Thompson: I don't think we should wait without any proper preparation for defense. I think that the way we demobilized our air defense force after the war

was over, in ten minutes as it were, before we even had any peace was perfectly scandalous and I think that the politicians of this United States should apologize to the American people for it. But I do not believe that ever a political program should be made subservient to military strategy. Military strategy must be the instrument for achieving a political goal,

and not a political goal the instrument of military strategy. And whenever that happens we have not only got war but we have got war on very bad terms. We are unable to think of anything to say except unconditional surrender.

Now I have asked some very simple questions—how do you propose, what do you think it is conceivable to do, to peacefully settle the German problem?—and if when anyone asks that question, day in and day out, one receives nothing but silence, then I think it's time to push our political leaders to do a little more thinking and a little less arming.

Lady: Mr. Foster, what did you mean by saying that a small investment on our part would buy a great contribution from Europe for free world strength?

Mr. Foster: I referred to the multiplier effect which our dollars have in Europe. We give only those commodities, or that equipment, which is needed to complete a project. In the field of electric power, for instance, there have been great improvements, great additions, to the present capacity. The generators from the United States, perhaps, were five per cent of the total completed value of the project when it was done. Therefore, through our five per cent contribution we have made possible an over-all contribution of a hundred per cent. In that same way, in building military strength, we can, through a small contribution here, obtain the benefit of the contributions of free Europe and the over-all total is much more than we alone could make.

Man: A question for General Romulo. Would not advocacy by the United States of the idea of transforming the United Nations into a limited form of world gov-

ernment strengthen the peace forces in the world?

Gen. Romulo: Well, of course as you very well know, I have advocated a limited form of world government. I believe that the United Nations should eventually develop into a limited form of world government, and so I agree entirely with you in your remarks.

Lady: Miss Thompson, weren't you for stopping Hitler at the Rhineland to prevent a big war and aren't we now doing the same thing in Korea to prevent a big war?

Miss Thompson: I was for stopping Hitler in the Rhineland before he marched into the Rhineland at all, by a demonstration on the part of the French alone that they intended to stand by the treaty which he had signed. Stopping anybody after he has started a war, of course, means going to war. It's not even a deterrent policy. Then it becomes a stop and punishment policy. Now, of course, we have never had any treaty with South Korea, and, furthermore, only few months before we went into Korea, the Secretary of State visited this country, twice, on two occasions, and Senator Connally another, stated outrightly that we considered South Korea no essential part of American defense. In other words, we practically gave them a green light sign. Now I don't think that was bright. I think we should at least have kept still.

Gen. Romulo: Let us not forget that South Korea was born under the aegis of the United States. The Republic of South Korea was created by a resolution sponsored by the United States in the United Nations. If the United States had not intervened in Korea what prestige would you have had in Asia when you had abandoned

ally, a friend, a creation of the United States?

Man: My question is addressed to Mr. Foster. Why should the United States continue to send large sums of money to European countries which are in turn selling these goods to communist controlled satellites?

Mr. Denny: Mr. Foster, I believe that's what the lawyers call a leading question.

Mr. Foster: Well, I would question the facts. It is perfectly true that Western Europe continues to sell some goods to Eastern Europe. They are not the goods which we are supplying to Western Europe, however, and the reason they are continuing to ship some goods to Eastern Europe is because that is the only way that they are able to get additional food, additional rubber, additional commodities, which we are unable or unwilling to supply them. For that reason Europe, unless we are to put the Iron Curtain this side of the existing Iron Curtain we must allow a certain amount of trade. The trade, however, is controlled in the sense that Western Europe is not shipping goods to Eastern Europe of a nature that will contribute substantially to the buildup of military strength in Eastern Europe.

Lady: Gen. Romulo. If there could be a war on the continent of Asia—which God forbid!—do you think that the Japanese people and their government and the imperialists would be willing to undertake a second invasion of China? Would they be dependable allies of the United States?

Gen. Romulo: That is not a fair question to ask of a Filipino. And I would rather not answer that question.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. I think that's quite right. Remember that Gen. Romulo's country was invaded by the Japanese and suffered greatly at the hands of the Japanese working under the Japanese War Lords and the government that we defeated. Would any other member of the panel care to answer that question. Miss Thompson?

Miss Thompson: I don't think so.

Mr. Denny: Mr. Foster.

Mr. Foster: I'm afraid not.

Mr. Denny: No? Your question goes unanswered, but don't forget, that it was hardly an appropriate question to ask Mr. Romulo. I'm sure you meant no harm by it, however. Let's take another question for General Romulo.

Man: Gen. Romulo, you speak of United Nations' action in Korea yet the United States is almost alone in opposing the aggressor. It seems as if the United States is bearing the brunt alone and the United Nations aren't united.

Gen. Romulo: Well, that's a good question. It is not true that the United States is alone in Korea. There are other nations there. There are nine nations with troops in Korea. I can mention some of them—I can mention all of them. There is the Philippines with troops in Korea, Thailand, Turkey, Greece, United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, Australia. But don't forget that this experiment of collective security is just beginning. This is the first time that the world sees an experiment on collective security. We begin in a small way. If this succeeds, as I hope and pray it will succeed, then we'll see other nations jumping on the band wagon.

Lady: A question for Miss Thompson. Surely the Russian people don't want war any more than we do. Don't you feel that it's very important to reach them and how can they express their will in this matter?

Miss Thompson: Well, I agree with the questioner that the Russian people don't want war any more than any other people. Nobody wants war. And one thing, I feel that our policy has failed very greatly in not taking a peace offensive in words. We have left that initiative to the Russians, and I must say they are doing it very brilliantly. Despite the fact that millions of people in the world believe that what they do is fraudulent, if the Russians are fraudulent, that still is no reason why we should not take the peace offensive. But you see the way you reach people is by proclaiming a policy and then backing it up—not by just arguing for peace. Everybody is against sin, but we must make some specific proposals likely to bring peace.

Lady: Mr. Foster. If we follow the Hoover Plan could our economy continue to operate if we were to lose our European allies?

Mr. Foster: No, it could not. We depend on many other nations in the world for many of our basic industries. If we were to lose Europe, we would lose the other sources of raw materials and it would be impossible for the United States to continue as a strong industrial nation.

■

Man: General Romulo, why draw eighteen-year-olds in this country now when experienced Chinese Nationalists on Formosa can be sent to Korea?

Mr. Denny: I'm sorry that question should be for two programs behind us. We discussed that two or three weeks ago. Next question for General Romulo?

Gen. Romulo: And that involves domestic policy.

Mr. Denny: Yes.

Lady: General Romulo, what is the life expectancy of the United Nations? If communistic governments retire what will be the position of the United Nations then?

Gen. Romulo: If the communistic nations retire I hope the United Nations will continue. You ask me what is the life expectancy of the United Nations? Let us hope it is forever.

Mr. Denny: Thank you very much. General Romulo, I don't want to take over your prerogative there but I expect the life of the United Nations depends upon the faith of the people in the United Nations throughout the world. Does it not?

Gen. Romulo: Correct.

Mr. Denny: All right. I want to thank you and Dorothy Thompson and William C. Foster for your splendid contribution to our thinking on this subject. Plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's Bell.

BEHIND THE CRIER'S BELL

On this page we take you "behind the scenes" of America's Town Meeting. We will welcome your questions about the program and your suggestions on what phases interest you most.

Thousands of Town Meeting listeners write in each year to tell us they've been regular listeners from the very first broadcast. Some of them recall the first program on May 30 (Memorial Day), 1935, when Lawrence Dennis, A. J. Muste, Norman Thomas and Raymond Moley discussed the question "Which Way America—Fascism, Communism, Socialism or Democracy?" Others remember Henry Hillman's debate with Judge James A. Emery on the question, "Will the Demands of Organized Labor Promote Recovery?" Others refer to the lively discussions between General Hugh Johnson and the old "curmudgeon," Harold Ickes, who also tickled horns with publisher Frank Gannett in a discussion of freedom of the press which filled the editorial pages of the country with comment for weeks afterward. Few have forgotten the furor stirred up by the President's Supreme Court proposals and the four-and-a-half discussion over Town Meeting six days later in which speakers in three cities—New York, Washington and Chicago—answered questions of the audience in Town Hall, New York. That was February 11, 1937. More than 12,000 letters piled in after that program. Others write in to recall the night Wendell Willkie rose as a leader in the audience (January 19, 1941) on the eve of his trip to England and declared his support of President Roosevelt's lend-

lease plan. How many of these programs do you remember?

Although not the first discussion program, America's Town Meeting was the first forum to have audience participation and it was the first to refer to its chairman as Moderator. Wishing to increase its New York audience, it inaugurated the practice of bringing to the program interesting personalities from all over the country who had written interesting letters: a filling station attendant from South Dakota; a mother of eight children who was active in civic affairs in Chicago; a high school girl who had written four brilliant poems, addressing one to each of the four speakers on a Town Meeting she had just heard; a boarding-house keeper from LaFayette, Indiana. Do you remember?

Then came the plans for the Round-the-World Town Meeting when more than 23,000 Town Meeting listeners contributed \$66,000 to send Town Meeting around the world.

From May 30, 1935, through May 30, 1950, 614 Town Meetings were broadcast with a total of 1,403 speakers and visible audiences totaling well over a million persons.

This is only the beginning. Town Meeting's audience continues to grow in this country; it is being emulated in five other nations; and Town Meeting is only one part—a vital part—of the Town Hall Movement.

The above is a condensation of one of the many informative articles appearing in "Good Evening, Neighbors," the 15th anniversary publication of Town Meeting. It is still available at one dollar each and can be ordered from Town Hall, New York 18, New York.

THE LISTENER TALKS BACK

"HOW CAN WE STOP RISING PRICES?"

Program of February 20

Speakers

Mr. Michael V. DiSalle, Mr. Walter P. Reuther and
Mr. Herschel D. Newsom

Each week we print as many significant comments on the preceding Tuesday's broadcast as space allows. You are invited to send in your opinions, pro and con. The letters should be mailed to Department A, Town Hall, New York 18, N.Y., not later than Thursday following the program. It is understood that we may publish any letters or comments received.

REBUTTAL

Mr. DiSalle said that price and wage controls were not put into effect sooner because the people were opposed to controls. If I am not mistaken, Congress gave the President the power to impose such controls long before last fall's election, and since there was no great outcry by the people against their elected representatives for granting such powers to the President, it would seem that it was the politicians who were opposed to controls and not the people.

Mr. Reuther in talking about the profits earned by industry neglected to say how much of the 48 billions was paid out in dividends. The more you tax profits, the less dividends are paid, and this means a cut in income to a great many little people. He neglected to say what it would cost the taxpayer if the government were to guarantee to pay every holder of an E Bond the same

amount of buying power which they fell due as when they were bought. Isn't it wonderful how organized labor talks about overtime but never any thought of paying the man who can produce more in the same length of time? . . .

The present price and wage control law is a farce so far as the great mass of white collar workers are concerned, and there wasn't a single statement made on last week's program that proved otherwise or gave any encouragement to those consumers caught in the squeeze of high prices and none-too-high wages. For instance, federal employees have had no wage increases since long before January, 1950. Is labor willing to pay higher taxes so they can have a 10% increase, which even then (would) leave them several increases behind organized labor? — MILDRED M. LUNDIN Englewood, Colorado.

END PARITY

Price rises cannot be stopped unless we finally learn to realize that a national emergency . . . supersedes any existing law whenever necessary. Thus, farm parity price laws should have become ineffective . . . at the declaration of this emergency . . . The gap between what the farmer gets and what the ultimate consumer pays must be bridged by compensatory federal payments to the farmer.—

RALPH GROSS, Buffalo, New York.

THE FIXED INCOME DILEMMA

It seems that one important angle was not presented, namely,

the vital interest of the vast unorganized public who are . . . on fixed incomes or irregular incomes, who belong to no union and have nothing to sell on which the price can be raised.—E. H. TIPTON, Berkeley, California.

Mr. Reuther wants to be sure that the unions' pay is sufficient according to the cost of living . . . Mr. Newsom wants the public to protect (the farmer) by supporting parity so he will get his fair share. They do not seem to understand (that) price rises hurt the people on fixed incomes.—JAMES M. KINNEY, Cleveland, Ohio.

"TOWN MEETING" ON TOUR

Many of our broadcasts this spring and summer will originate in different cities throughout the United States. Local organizations serve as the hosts for tour broadcasts. For further information, write to Town Hall, New York 18, N.Y.

"GOOD EVENING, NEIGHBORS"

The 80-page book, reviewing fifteen years of "America's Town Meeting" is still available. For your copy, send \$1.00 to Town Hall, New York 18, N.Y.

Perhaps this broadcast is of vital interest to a club or organization, in which you are interested. Bulk orders can be filled at a very reasonable cost. Write:

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